1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called shách̀ma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish kánga to the woman is due to causes connected with the

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish kánga was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, ungúmi who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish kánga is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy (tsantsa), and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (áha pamboártinyu). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

R. Karsten--1935 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 585, 535 (1928-29)

"The tobacco feast proper lasts four days. It is preceded by certain ceremonies which have the character of preliminaries but are looked upon as being essential. Among these preliminaries the dance Wuimchi is the most important.. It is a ring dance performed by the younger men and boys in which they move round one of the central pillars of the house, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left, incessantly mentioning such animals and birds of the forest by name which the Jibaros mostly hunt, as well as details of the industrial arts incumbent on the men. This dance is performed every evening for several hours about eight days before the commencement of the feast, and is supposed to exert a favourable influence upon the household and the industrial art of the Indians. It is regarded as á necessary preliminary of all great feasts of the Indians..."

1: Karsten--193-195 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"Another preliminary [WPM: to the tobacco feast] is the ceremony called Nauma, i.e. the chewing of the manioc root for the purpose of brewing manioc-beer, a ceremony that takes place three days before the feast proper begins. Early in the morning all the women of the house, headed by the girl in whose honour the feast is to be held, march out to the manioc fields in the neighbourhood with their baskets (changina) to fetch the great quantity of manioc roots necessary for the purpose. When the women have arrived at the field, the young bride first receives some juice of tobacco from an old woman. The first manioc root is pulled up and placed in the basket by the girl, her hand being held by the older woman. Thereupon all the women proceed to fill their baskets with manioc roots and carry them home.

Here the ceremony takes place which is called by the Indians Nauma, i.e. the ceremonial chewing of the manioc, in which women from different houses in the neighbourhood are invited to take part. First the roots are peeled and boiled in big clay pots placed on different fires in the house. When the manioc is soft, the pots are removed from the fires and the roots mashed, as is done with potatoes. The pots are arranged in a circle on the floor, some empty ones being placed in the middle. The women now sit down on the floor, each in front of a clay pot of manioc, and the chewing of the fruit begins. Each woman fills her mouth with the mashed fruit and masticates it for a long while with great care, over and over again, more or less like a ruminating cow. She

does not stop until the masticated substance is in a liquid state; then she stoops down towards the empty pot in front of her and [194] spits the white liquid into it. When the pots are more or less half full of this fluid, unmasticated mashed manioc is added until the vessels are full, and the whole mass is stirred. The mouths of the clay vessels are carefully covered with banana leaves and they are then placed in a particular place in the women's department close to two of the pillars supporting the house. Here the fermentation will take place, that wonderful process which to the Indian mind is supernatural and sacred, and is ascribed to the soul animating the manioc plant. In order that the fermentation may proceed quickly and without disturbing influences, the women finally sit round the clay pots covered with palm leaves and sing a sort of prayer or incantation to the spirit of the manioc plant.

Not only ordinary manioc-beer is brewed for a feast, but also a special manioc-beer and a kind of manioc-wine, both prepared from roasted manioc. While the pots were boiling in the house, the men had been roasting manioc roots outside, the roots being placed over a big fire on a frame made of tree branches and called pingána. A number of the biggest roots have been selected for the purpose and of these again two particularly well developed have been chosen, to be laid on the roasting frame by the young girl with the assistance of the priestess. Thereupon other roots are added without ceremony. As

soon as the roots are sufficiently roasted, they are placed on big banana leaves and taken into the house. Here two baskets (changina) are ceremonially filled with the roasted manioc roots by the girl, whose hands are constantly held by the priestess. The first two manioc roots, however, are prepared in a special way before being laid in the baskets. The bride, whose hands are held by the priestess, cuts up the root with a knife and puts into it a little salt, which she bites off from a bigger piece and puts into the manioc with a little saliva, a little bark from the stem of the manioc plant, and a little mould which has formed upon some old roasted pieces of manioc enveloped in leaves and kept for the particular purpose of preparing manioc-wine. Some more of the roasted manioc roots are treated in the same way, the rest being placed in the baskets as they are. When the baskets are full, they are covered with certain big leaves and hung up at the same pillars in the house where the clay pots containing ordinary manioc-beer are. They are left there for three days, in order that they may 'ripen' and become impregnated with the power of the salt and the other things put into the manioc roots. I was able to establish for [195] myself that this way of preparing them was by no means merely an empty ceremony, or due to superstition. When some days later I tasted one of the roasted manioc roots I found it had a peculiar sweetish flavour, and the Indians assured me that the wine to be prepared from these roots would be particularly strong.

The preparation both of the manioc-beer and the wine is continued on the first day of the feast, three days later,..."

I: Karsten--195-197 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 273 (1928-29)

"I shall now describe shortly the ceremonies which take place on each of the four days devoted to the feast.

....the young bride is, at the principal ceremonies performed at the feast, regularly assisted by an old experienced woman, who acts so to say as a priestess and in this capacity is called whuéa. Besides this there is an old man who has to assist at certain ceremonies and thus in a way acts as a priest. The young girl in whose honour the feast is held is called tsángrama. A sister of hers and another young female relative also take part in the principal ceremonies, and the tsángrama, her sister, and the third young woman are often mentioned in connection with one another.

The first day of a great feast is always called Utsándowai, i.e. 'The opening of the feast'. It begins early in the morning with the solemn entrance of the guests into the house. All guests invited to the feast have arrived on the day before, but they have passed the night in provisional shelters outside the house. Having arranged their dress and their ornaments and renewed their facial paintings, they enter the house headed by the old man who acts as priest at the feast. Once in the house, they arrange themselves in two rows from the door towards the centre and sit down on small seats (kutánga) placed there for the purpose. They are welcomed in the usual way with manioc-beer (nihamánchi), which is offered to them ceremonially by the women. In the middle of the room, close to the first central pillar, a number of big clay pots (muitsa) have been

placed; they contain food, pork and chicken. In front of these four women take their stand; the first of these is the principal person of the feast, the young bride, the second her sister, and the rest near female relations of hers. Each of them has a clay dish (pininga) filled with manioc-beer in her hands. The men now have to step forward to drink a little from the clay dish of each woman. The future husband of the young girl takes them there in their proper turns, beginning with the eldest guest and finishing with [196] the youngest; lastly he himself drinks. When this is done, the men start to eat. Some banana leaves are spread on the floor in front of the clay pots containing food, and upon these a number of clay dishes are placed. The dishes are filled with meat and boiled manioc and are thereafter distributed among the men, who also partake of the manioc-beer which is being constantly carried round by the women. While the eating and drinking is going on, some Indians beat the drums incessantly, as is customary at the Indian feasts.

The drinking-bout is continued the whole forenoon, the men retaining their seats. On the space between them various parties of women appear dancing. The dance--which is called Ihiámbrama--is started by the bride, her sister, and the priestess, whom three other women have joined. The women stand, three in each row, against each other moving alternately towards and from each other at a slow pace and making steps which

cannot exactly be described in words. Two Indians, who also move to and fro on the floor, accompany their dance by beating drums or playing flutes. The women, having danced for a while, are relieved by others, but the number of women appearing varies. Later on only four, three, or two appear at a time, and sometimes a woman is seen dancing solo, always accompanied by some men beating the drums. The dance and the drumming is thus continued for several hours.

In the afternoon the preparation of the manioc-beer and the manioc-wine is continued in so far as the roasted roots hung up in the two baskets are chewed, i.e. a new Nauma ceremony takes place. Of the masticated fruit a part is separated from the rest for the purpose of preparing the special manioc-beer referred to above, whereas of the rest of the masticated fruit the manioc-wine is prepared by the essence of the masticated substance being distilled. Since the procedure thereby will be minutely described in connection with the great victory feast, I shall not dwell on this detail here, and the same may be said of the manioc-beer which is brewed by using a special ferment of chewed manioc substance prepared earlier. The special manioc-beer prepared from roasted manioc roots is drunk on the third and fourth day of the feast after the principal ceremonies, whereas the manioc-wine, sangucha shiki, is drunk at the end of the feast before the guests depart.

In the evening the Indians again start dancing. First the dance Wuimchi is performed

round one of the central pillars, both men and [197] women, and even children taking part in it; then some of the women dance Ihiámbrama as before, accompanied by one or more men beating drums. At times both dances are performed at once in different parts of the house. This dancing is continued for the whole night or until dawn."

1: Karsten--197-200 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276 (1928-29)

"The second day of the feast is assigned for the ceremony which is called 'the drinking of the chiki medicine' (chiki umártinyu). Chiki is the root of a plant with the same name, specially cultivated by the Jibaros, to which magical properties are ascribed. Early in the morning three clay dishes (pininga) are placed in a row on the floor, one for the bride, another for her sister, and a third for another female relative of the bride. At the most important ceremonies taking place on this and the following days of the feast these three women appear together, and they are assisted by the priestess (whuéa). A cooking pot is half-filled with water, placed on the fire by the bride whose hands, as usual, are held by the priestess. Into this pot the following things are placed, in the same ceremonial way, by the women: 1) a small piece of manioc; 2) a small piece of camote or sweet potato; 3) a piece of the chiki root; and 4) two tobacco leaves. The water in the pot is not allowed to boil, but is only warmed. When it is luke-warm the tobacco leaves are taken out and the liquid is poured into the three piningas by the bride whose hands are held by the priestess. The latter thereupon passes one of the piningas to the bride, who drinks up its whole contents and immediately runs outside to throw it up; the chiki medicine, it should be understood, has the effect of a vomitory which is supposed to purify the stomach of the woman and favourably prepare her for the dreams. Thereupon the priestess in the same way allows the second and the third woman to empty the contents of their piningas, and they likewise

at once go outside to throw it up. The women are now considered to be properly prepared for the taking of the tobacco medicine itself, which is called savinya. During this and the following day, or until the feast is ended, both the bride and the other two women have to fast more strictly than before, their only food being a little boiled and mashed manioc. When they eat they take care not to touch the food with their fingers, but use small wooden sticks to eat with.

After the drinking of chiki is finished, the guests are entertained with manioc-beer. A great number of piningas are placed in two parallel rows and filled with manioc-beer prepared from the roasted manioc roots and offered to the guests by the women. With this drinking-bout the morning's ceremonies are finished. [198]

Early in the evening the priestess prepares the tobacco medicine called savinya. From a bundle of tobacco which has been kept in a special place in the house she takes some leaves, chews them carefully, mixing the chewed mass well with saliva, and lastly spits it out into a small clay pot (nattipya), specially made for the purpose. When she has obtained a sufficient quantity of this strong medicine, which is thick like syrup, she covers the clay pot with a cover made of clay, which at the same time serves as a cup from which the women have to take the medicine reached them by the priestess. The small clay pot, with its cover, is first placed in a basket (changina) which is hung up at one of the pillars of the house until the tobacco medicine is needed.

Late in the evening the bride and the two other women go to some shelters of palm leaves built for them outside in the neighbourhood of the house, close to the manioc plantations, where they will pass the night, each woman in her own shelter. The priestess has followed them there and gives them the savinya medicine, whereupon she leaves them alone. The strong medicine, taken on an empty stomach, cannot fail to have effect and to produce the dreams to which the Jibaros ascribe so great an importance. If the dreams are 'good', Nungüi herself and the other spirits will appear to the women and speak to them. They will see the swine and the hens numerous and fat, they will see the house surrounded by flourishing plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruits. Dreams of this kind will be produced more easily when they sleep alone in the plantations. Early in the morning the old woman goes to the shelters to look after the women and again gives them tobacco juice, whereupon all return to the house.

Now the ceremonies of the third day begin, which essentially consist in the women receiving savinya in repeated doses and songs being sung to the Earth-mother. The bride sits down on a seat opposite the priestess, the two other women taking seats beside the former. The hair of the bride is tied up by her fiancé by means of a band, and her head and shoulders are wet with water 'because earlier, in the plantation, she had been vomiting'. The priestess now gives her juice of tobacco and similarly portions of it to the two other women. Thereupon the songs to the Earth-mother Nungüi

begin, which are led by the priestess, sometimes assisted by another old woman. These songs are continued, with small intervals, for several hours, being led by the priestess who first recites them without singing, so that the younger women may learn them, whereupon all women sing them. Between [199] the songs the three women repeatedly receive juice of tobacco from the hand of the old woman. Sometimes she even rubs their fingers with the juice and blows upon them; then the songs are again continued.

The songs sung are much the same as those sung at sowing, (and above I have given some instances of them (1)). All fruits cultivated by the Jibaro women are mentioned in these incantations, but especially the most important of them, the manioc. In their songs the women among other things pass through the whole 'history' of this crop, when the trees are felled in the forest for the making of plantations, when the sticks are put in the earth, when they begin to strike root, when the root swells and the little plant begins to grow, when the women remove the noxious weeds and tend it until at last it is a big shrub and the manioc root 'big like the sikimuro' and ready to be harvested by the women. Above all the Earth-mother herself and her 'husband' Shakaĕma are appealed to, the former in order that he may help at the rough work in felling the large trees

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"1. Supra, p.128 sqq."

and removing the trunks, and the latter that she may help the women to tend the plant and make it grow well and bear abundant fruit.

The following are further instances of these songs:

'Shakaĕma, man in the earth,
come and help us in our work!
May you cut down the trees,
send away the soul from the stems,
remove the trunks from the fields!
Nungüi, mother, help us in our work!
Make my sowing flourish,
remove the weeds from my field,
make the leaves of the plant strong,
make the root big like the sikimuro! (2)
Fertilize my field,
multiply my crop of manioc,

"2. Sikimuro is a big root, somewhat resembling the manioc, to which magical properties are ascribed and which is used at one of the most important ceremonies of the great victory feast (See infra, p. 351)."

multiply my crop of camote,
multiply my crop of earth-nuts!' etc. [200]

These are the main themes of the incantations, somewhat varied in different songs, but always essentially the same. Similarly the melodies to which they are sung are the same as those mentioned before. The incantations are chiefly interrupted for the sake of giving the women repeated savinya doses. The women are not allowed to take anything but this medicine during the whole day; thus, it is believed, they will be favourably prepared for the dreams in the following night. In the evening the priestess, as usual, takes the three women to the shelters in the fields outside the house, whither they are accompanied by other men and women. The priestess, before she leaves them, again gives them tobacco juice. The women now sleep in the shelter till about 3 o'clock in the morning, when the priestess again takes them to the house. At this hour the important ceremony occurs which is called 'the slaughter of the swine' (cuchi matinyu), and which forms part of all great feasts. The ceremonial slaughter of the swine will be described in detail in connection with the great victory feast.

Until the slaughter of the swine takes place the night has been spent in dancing the dances Wuimchi and Ihiámbrama, just as in the night before."

"On the following fourth day of the feast, tobacco juice is still taken in the same way as on the previous day. The three women are sitting on their seats before the priestess, who recites to them the words and leads the songs, giving them now and then tobacco juice. The melody to which the songs are sung is at first the one which we have already learned to know in connection with the incantations to Nungüi and her 'husband', as above (p. 135).

Having sung various songs to this melody, the women suddenly change and start to sing to a different melody. Their manner of uttering the words may be said to be a sort of singing speech rather than a song proper. Incantations of this kind are directed to the Earth-mother as before, some of them having reference to agriculture whereas others are sung on behalf of the chickens and the hunting dogs. The following songs may be mentioned as instances: [201]

Nungui noa wachi,
'To Nungüi, the woman,
arúta núnganuma,
the Old One who lives in the earth,
Nungui noachina
to Nungüi, the woman, (we pray):
Mamankutú yamármа,

our manioc plantation is still young,
inchikutú yamárma,
our camote field is young,
nussikutú yamárma,
our sowing of earth-nuts is young,
nu pingera tsapaitsi,
make it nicely grow,
yurúmga untsuaheita,
quickly multiply the crops', etc.

The incantation to the Earth-mother is followed by another which has reference to the chickens (atáshi kantámsama):

Tangúmata atáshi,
'Make the chickens tame!
Nimya, nimya atáshi,
Multiply, multiply the chickens!
Ukúnchmandá atáshi,
Make their spurs large!
Niheimanda atáshi,
Fill their crops'! [202]

A similar incantation is sung on behalf of the hunting dogs, (yawá kahtámsama) and to the same melody. The incantation runs as follows:

Tóata yawána,
sátama atchminéa,
Soachuruchimya,
Huambiktechimya,
Amushrunachimya,
Chuinchiruchimya.
Sátama rúna,
Yeita másanatimi,
kashiki piútnungmateiti,
káyuka itérmangeiti,
pákki itérmangeiti.

In translation:

'Rear the dog which still is young,
the son of Soachi,
the son of Huambikte,
the son of Amushru,

the son of Chuinchi!
May he become familiar with his master,
who cautiously goes to the forest in the early morning
to hunt the guatusa, to hunt the wild hog!"

Another incantation addressed to the Earth-mother on behalf of the dog runs, in free translation, as follows:

"You, my dear little dog, which roams about in the forest and climbs the hills seeking the game! May Nungüi, who herself has bred the dogs[203] make you skilled to trace the hog and take care of you and guard you so that you may not smell the urine of the tiger and get crooked legs!" (1)

Such incantations are sung for a couple of hours with short intervals.

In the afternoon the bride and the other women are ceremonially dressed by the priestess and are made to break their fast. These ceremonies too are performed with the greatest care since it is considered to be very risky for the young woman, who has

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"1. This belief is due to the idea entertained by the Jibaros, that the jaguar is an evil spirit, the reincarnation of the soul of a sorcerer."

so long been in a state of uncleanness and observed a most rigorous diet, to wear the usual dress and ornaments and to eat the food eaten by ordinary people.

Upon a big banana leaf various things are placed by the priestess: a small pot with black genipa painting (sua), all ornaments generally worn by a woman, a collar of beads (shauka), the lip-tube (tukúnu), a cotton band to be tied round the head (tiringsa), a comb (timashi), as well as a pair of scissors (formerly a sharp snail's shell) for cutting the hair. The priestess combs the hair of the bride and of the other women and thereupon cuts a little hair from the forehead of each of them. One of the women performs the same service for the priestess, cutting a little of the hair of her head. All these tufts of hair are placed on the banana leaf at the side of the ornaments. Now the fiancé starts to comb the bride and thereupon cuts a little more of her hair, at the forehead and the temples, and even behind. Similarly the two other women are combed by their husbands and have a little of their hair cut, these tufts of hair too being placed on the banana leaf.

Next follows the painting with genipa (sua). The priestess pours a little of the black juice from the gourd on the flat of her hand and sprinkles a little of it with her fingers on the face of the bride and of the two other women. The women in their turn do the same service for the priestess. Then the latter, dipping her finger in the genipa solution, draws a broad stroke along the right arm of the bride and two vertical strokes on

her breast. The bride does the same to the priestess.

Now the women have to break their fast and to be dressed. Two clay dishes (pininga) are brought; the one contains some boiled and masticated manioc as well as some pieces of boiled plantain, the other only pure water. The priestess makes each woman drink from the pininga with water, passing it twice to each of them. Then she gives a piece of plantain dipped in the masticated manioc substance to all three of the women, [204] whereupon she takes all the ornaments and makes a show of putting them on the women. She however immediately lays them down again on the banana leaf. Then the bride takes these ornaments and puts them on herself without any help from the priestess. Before the young woman puts an ornament on herself she first raises each of them to her mouth.

These ceremonies having been performed, the common meal has to take place in connection with which the fasting women too are allowed to definitely break their fast. Several pots (ichingána) filled with the meat of the swine slaughtered during the night have been placed close to one of the central pillars of the house, as well as other big clay pots containing boiled manioc, plantain, and palm cabbage (ihu). A great number of piningas, filled with meat and the boiled vegetables, are placed in two long rows and thereafter served to the guests. The young bride gives to the priestess a leg of one of the swine slaughtered as well as a liver which, according to an old custom observed at

the great feasts, are ceremonially presented to her.

After the guests have eaten the three women who have played the most important part at the feast and have hitherto been dieting are allowed to take their first meal. Before they can touch the food, however, they must wash their mouths with a guayusa solution. Both the cooking of the guayusa and the taking of the tonic has the same ceremonial character as other important acts at the feast. A small clay pot (yukúnda) is placed on the ground by the women assisted by the priestess. The latter first makes the bride put a twig with a leaf attached to it on a banana leaf, whereupon the other two women repeat the same act. Then the priestess makes the bride pull off the leaf from the twig and put it down in the yukúnda. The same manoeuvre is repeated with the second and the third woman. The bride, assisted by the priestess, takes a small guayusa twig, breaks it and places it in the pot across the leaves previously placed there; the same is repeated by the second and the third woman. Then the bride, assisted by the priestess, pours a little water, first into a gourd, and thereupon into the pot with the guayusa leaves. All three women, assisted by the priestess, now carry the pot cautiously to the fire where it is allowed to boil.

As soon as the drink has boiled enough, the priestess puts a little of it into a gourd and gives it to the bride to wash the mouth with it. The latter, having washed her mouth, spits out the solution without drinking it. The same is repeated by the other

women. [205]

Now the women are ready to eat. A small pot with pork and boiled manioc leaves (námaha) is brought, and upon a banana leaf some boiled manioc, plantain, palm cabbage (ihu) as well as some Indian pepper have been placed. The priestess gives the bride some manioc, a little pork, and some Indian pepper. The same is given to the second and the third woman. Besides this they have some manioc-beer (nihamánchi). A pininga filled with beer is brought, covered with a big kachini leaf. A tobacco leaf which is rolled up into a cigar is handed over to the priestess who lights it and blows the smoke upon the pininga containing the manioc-beer. Thereafter she offers it to the three women who drink a little of it. Now the three women may freely eat all kinds of food.

In the evening the usual dances are again performed but they are only continued till about midnight. Earlier in the evening, during an interval, the distilled manioc-wine, referred to above, is also definitely made ready. On the bottom of the clay pot where the roasted and masticated manioc roots have been placed on the first day of the feast a dark-brown essence is seen, which is the wine. The priestess pours it into a new clay vessel which is carefully kept in a special place until the following day.

Early in the morning of the fifth day, after the guests have eaten, they make preparations to leave. A special farewell ceremony still remains to be performed: the drinking

of the manioc-wine just mentioned. The young bride stands in the middle of the house holding a pininga, filled with manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki), as well as a small gourd in the hand. Her fiancé takes one after the other of the guests to the young woman and makes him take a draught from the small gourd which she offers to him, whereupon he returns to his seat. As usual, the oldest men have to drink first, the younger ones coming later in due order. But only the oldest men really drink anything from the gourd; the younger ones certainly step up to the bride, but only make a show of drinking, returning thereafter to their places. Lastly even the women step forward, but do not drink in reality. This is characteristic of the manioc-wine drinking at all great feasts. What is left of the wine is kept by the mother of the bride.

The guests take leave of their hosts in the usual ceremonial way. Each man has to deliver a small speech in which he expresses his satisfaction with the cordial reception and entertainment, the nice arrangements, and the pleasant time spent together with the hostesses. Thereafter the men depart, followed by the women."

1: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

1: Karsten--208-209
116, 585

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"The preparations for the nuptials begin at once, and these take place eight days later after a considerable supply of provisions has been procured by hunting and fishing, great quantities of manioc-beer have been brewed, and new clay vessels have been made by the women. The nuptial-feast itself is considered absolutely indispensable, for, if the traditional marriage ceremonies are not arranged, it is believed the young husband will soon die. This belief is due to the idea, deeply rooted in the minds ot the Indians, that the contracting of marriage is an extremely critical occasion because of the evil spirits which are then on the alert to spoil human welfare and happiness. [209]

The nuptials are mainly celebrated with eating and drinking, making music and dancing. The 'music' is performed partly by means of drums, partly by means of a primitive wooden instrument called sigi-sigi. The latter is a small table of chonta wood about 30 cm. in length and 5 cm. in breadth with incisions made on one-side at regular intervals so that, when the instrument is worked upon with a chonta stick which is rapidly passed from one end to the other and back, a rattling sound is produced. The dance again is of that ceremonial kind which is customary among the Indians on such occasions: one man and one woman appear at a time dancing solo, directed by the Indian conducting the ceremonies. The dance, generally speaking, consists in the man and the woman alternately moving to and from each other in a slow, solemn time, indicated by the beats of the drum and the sigi-sigi instrument. This solo dance and the

drinking-bout are continued the whole day and are supposed to have the effect of keeping off supernatural influences and promoting the happiness of the young couple.

The ceremonies at the nuptial festivity are led by a 'bestman', elected by the parents of the fiancé, and his wife. The leader, who is as a rule an elderly man and frequently a medicine-man, goes about the room the whole day playing the instrument sigi-sigi and inviting the guests to dance solo in their proper turns. His wife is sitting among the women at the other end of the room; she has a piece of linen about one yard and a half in length. When the leader wishes some one of the men to dance he puts his own hat on his head; this for his wife is a sign to put the piece of linen on the shoulders of the wife of that guest. Both now rise and dance solo for a while, accompanied by the leader playing sigi-sigi. Then the guest again restores the hat to the leader, who puts in [sic] on the head of another guest, and the latter in his turn has to dance solo for a while with his wife, who has been invited to dance by the leader's wife with the piece of linen, and so on. In this way the whole day, a good deal of the following night, as well as the following day, is spent in dancing, eating and drinking."

l: Karsten--209-211 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 585, 754, 845 (1928-29)

"The ceremonies practised on the wedding-night itself are of particular interest. Among the Canelos Indians custom forbids the bridegroom to spend the first night with his bride. That night is spent by him not only in another room but even in another house. The practice is due to fear of evil, supernatural powers. If the bridegroom spends the first night with his young wife, it is believed he will soon die, and his wife too is exposed to supernatural dangers. The Indians of Canelos know a sort [210] of jus primae noctis, but the 'right' in question is not claimed by the medicine-man or chief but by the evil demon, called supai, and the bridegroom, fearing the revenge of the demon, voluntarily cedes the right to him. However, the following night is also critical, since it is believed that the demon wants to continue having the woman and is jealous of her husband. The first nuptial embrace, which takes place in the presence of the whole assembly invited to the feast, is therefore, at any rate in some cases, arranged in the following way. The bride is placed in the bed which is made of split bamboo. On her bosom two bananas are placed in such a way that they easily fall down at her movements. These bananas represent the first children to which the woman will give birth and which, it is feared, may possibly be twins owing to the interest taken in the woman by the supai. The bananas are therefore called palánda huahua, i.e. 'the banana babes'. Under the bed a little boy is placed. When the young couple embrace each other the bananas fall to the ground, one after the other, and the boy hidden under

the bed at once catches them crying out, 'Now the babe arrived '! Then he comes forth and presents the first banana to the assembly, the other one being thrown away. A man steps forward and offers himself as comparu (god-father) of the newborn child. He receives the banana which is carefully wrapped in a cloth, and gives it a name. The 'banana babe' is afterwards placed above on the roof of the house, where it is kept until the real firstborn child arrives. Then the same Indian presents himself to be the god-father of the child, and the same name is given to it as was before given to the banana.

In order to understand this curious custom we have first of all to take into consideration that the Canelos Indians have a superstitious dread of twins, owing to reasons which will presently be explained more fully. By thus dramatically representing the very thing they fear may happen, namely, that the bride shall first bring forth twins, where the supai or demon is the father of the second child, the Indians hope to prevent that ominous eventuality. The incident has in mimicry been anticipated in the arrangement with the two bananas and will not therefore take place in reality. The fact that the first nuptial embrace is public in the way we have seen, is due to the idea that thus the evil spirit may be prevented from harming the couple.

The ceremony at the wedding-night is not always the one just described, when two bananas are used to represent twins. In some cases the Canelos Indians by the

ceremony in question only aim at neutra-[211]lizing in general, the possible harmful effects proceeding from the demon, and to secure a happy first delivery. Instead of using two bananas, they only use a manioc root which is wrapped in a piece of linen and placed on the bride's bosom, just as is in [sic] done other cases with the bananas. The rest of the ceremony is the same, a boy being hidden under the bed, who has to catch the manioc and present is [sic] as the 'first-born babe', and so forth.

It is not only the first nights that are believed to be critical for the newly-married pair. Generally the demon is supposed to continue molesting the young woman for some time, visiting her at night in dreams and trying to have intercourse with her even though she sleeps with her husband. In the morning the woman tells her husband that the supai has molested her in a dream. The husband summons a medicine-man, who first drinks the narcotic aya huasca to ascertain the true nature and origin of the importunate demon. Thereupon he prepares a medicine by crushing and boiling the stem of a vine called shigshi huasca, or the rind of a shrub called pétun cara, and gives the decoction to the woman to drink. This medicine is supposed to kill the demon and thus to rid the woman of his nightly visits.

The decoction of the vine shigshi huasca or the rind pétun cara is commonly used by the Canelos women as a means of abortion in general. But abortion most frequently seems to take place just in cases when the pregnancy of the woman is believed to have

been caused by a demon and is consequently due to superstition.

For the husband himself there is, owing to the jealousy of the demon, the constant danger that he may die on the spot on having intercourse with his wife, and this is particularly supposed to be the case if the woman is young and pretty. Sometimes the danger is not believed to be wholly over until two or three children have been born of the marriage.

As I have stated before the Canelos Indians, who are under the influence of the Catholic mission, are now essentially monogamous. Formerly, however, they practised polygyny much in the same form as the Jibaros do, and even to-day polygamous tendencies can be found among them."

2: Stirling--111 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 585, 462

"Marriage takes place immediately following the purchase arrangements and the woman takes up her duties in the man's residence, where they do not differ much from the duties to which she has been accustomed at home. The work of clearing the chacras and the work of housebuilding is done by the men. The women plant and tend the crops. The men do the hunting and fishing, while the women cook and attend to the household duties. The house is divided into two halves, each of which has its own door; one for the men and one for the women. In one half are the beds of the men and the section in which they remain while in the house. In the other half the women live and tend to their household functions."

12: Rivet--606-607 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 585

At Macas, the prospective husband makes his demand to the father and the father imposes on him the condition of going into the forest to hunt for five or six days. At the end of this time, the fiance returns loaded down with smoked meat which he presents to the young girl. If the father considers that he passed the test well, he accepts him for a son-in-law and even, if he is young, [607] robust and especially clever, he does not hesitate to give him two or three daughters. He immediately ties on to the arms of the newly-wed couple a band of coffee-colored cotton as wide as a finger, woven by the wife herself. The fiance pierces a little hole between his wife's lip and chin, through which she puts as an ornament a pompom of brilliant feathers, and then offers her a tarachi and some other feminine ornaments. The couple paint themselves and dress themselves up as well as they can. An old man of the tribe "who undertakes the office of priest" (?) (1) gives them a decoction of tobacco to drink, and the celebration continues as a dance, with singing and drinking during two or three days. It is, at least for this tribe, the only occasion where one sees the Jíbaro dancing in couples. According to certain Indian informants the fiance opens the vagina of his wife with the aid of bones prepared for this use, in order to make her more capable of intercourse.

Before marrying, the young man must always clear a piece of land, plant manioc and bananas, and construct and furnish a house; after that his only obligation is to get clothes for his wife and to furnish the necessary game.

Ordinarily, it is only at the end of several years that he chooses other companions.

1. Vacas Galindo, Nankijukima, op. cit. page 122.

13: Rivet--242[2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 585, 796

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

25: Vigna--44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 585

When the young man asks the hand of the girl to whom he is already betrothed, the parents of the girl generally require the suitor to perform certain labors or to accomplish certain feats. The marriage ceremony is simple; the chief or oldest member of the tribe generally assists. As soon as they are married, they go off to hunt and remain in the mountain several days; they do not carry anything with them except fire. Only after the husband has demonstrated that he can establish a home and that he respects his wife, will he be able to carry her away from the home of his in-laws.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

585 [584] one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

545 574 273 261 554 The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

224 575 [462] A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuṭuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

595 224 833 [82]